

FORMER VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE'S REMARKS AT WESTMINSTER PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Mr. DAYTON. Former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, one of Minnesota's greatest Senators and statesmen, recently spoke in Minneapolis at Westminster Presbyterian Church, of which I am a member. I found his insights into our country's present situation and our current deliberations to be most valuable. I ask unanimous consent to print the former Vice President's speech in the RECORD for the benefit of all my colleagues.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**WESTMINSTER PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH FORUM
SPEECH BY WALTER MONDALE**

Thanks, Pastor Hart-Anderson for that kind introduction and thanks for your gifted leadership of this wonderful congregation. Joan and I are glad to be members of Westminster.

I love this magnificent and historic sanctuary where we meet today. It was 1897—104 years ago—when Westminster congregants first gathered here.

Some of the men who came to worship here in those first days may well have been veterans of the Civil War; some may have fought at Gettysburg. Seventeen years after that first service, the first boat passed through the new Panama Canal and World War I broke out in Europe. And can you imagine how parishioners must have felt as they worshipped here that grim Sunday morning of December 7th, 1941?

Westminster has also lived through profound changes in our Minneapolis community. From its beginning at the center of the Presbyterian community living nearby, the church has lived through the hollowing-out of Minneapolis's central city, then, thankfully, its revitalization into a bustling and diverse downtown neighborhood.

Today, Westminster is on its feet, growing, adapting, serving its faith in a community that the congregation's first members could not have imagined. For more than a century, we have seen it all.

A foreign correspondent recently wrote that what struck him the most about America was that we all seemed to have a sense of ownership in our country. He's right—we do own our country.

That's why we all came together, in an instant, on September 11.

That unity is no coincidence * * * it flows from our American ideals of justice, openness and freedom. That unity is by choice, not by chance. Almost every American generation, when pressed by crisis, has had to renew that choice and defend our ideals—not only abroad, but here at home.

Abolitionists argued that slavery was immoral, and soldiers fought a war to end it . . . the suffragists struggled for women's right to vote . . . the civil rights movements persuaded us that all Americans must be free from discrimination . . . the women's movement profoundly enhanced opportunities for American women . . . and, at our best, we have reached out to make American life more open and accepting to everyone.

Roosevelt once said that America's great goal has been "to include the excluded." I believe that's what we have done.

I was a part of the civil rights struggle and served in the Senate when many of the key civil rights law were passed. I worked under a president who was the first southerner elected to the office in 120 years . . . elected, in part, because a southerner could finally champion civil rights and bring our Nation closer together.

It all came together for more at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics. Civil rights laws had knocked down the barriers to black and Hispanic participation in sports. And we had recently passed title nine, over huge objections, which required schools receiving public money to provide equal athletic opportunities for young women.

When I watched American athletes of all colors, men and women, winning one gold medal after another and astounding the world, I saw our Nation's long march toward openness and justice being justified right before our eyes. America was the best because we had tapped all of our talent.

The wonderful American historian, Stephen Ambrose, spoke in Minneapolis the other day about the long-term prospects for America versus Bin Laden and his fellow extremists.

America has a great advantage, Ambrose said. In today's world the trained mind is the most valuable of all assets. In America, we tap all of our talent, while the Taliban and other medievalists shut it off—by closing the door to women, by requiring you men to spend all of their time repeating extremists doctrines by rote, and by suppressing science and debate.

By wasting their good minds, they will fail, Ambrose said.

Just as we saw America prevail at the '84 Olympics by tapping all our talent, we will see our openness and freedom give us the edge in this newer, grimmer challenge.

And we have another advantage.

Roger Cohen, a senior New York Times European correspondent, recently wrote that "Hitler promised the 1,000 year Reich; Communism promised equality; Milosovich promised glory. All the West Offers is the rule of law, but that's enough."

Under our constitution, the rule of law has meant that our public officers must be accountable to the law: this idea runs throughout our system.

The House and the Senate account to each other; the Congress to the President, the President to the Congress, both to the courts, and to the American people; a prosecutor to the judge (appointed for life) and jury and all of it subject to appeal. It is one of the great paradoxes of that document: on the one hand, the constitution reveals our founders' abiding faith in democracy—in the people, while on the other hand, the framers were very suspicious of human nature when clothed with unaccountable power. This principle is not a detail; it is crucial to America's phenomenal success.

Our founders made this very clear in the remarkable federalist papers. In them, Madison, and Hamilton famously observed: "What is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary, but in framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself . . . a dependence on the people, is no doubt, the primary control on government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions."

Maintaining the rule of law takes a lot of nerve. And over our history we have occasionally lost it during moments of great threat.

In 1798, Congress passed the notorious alien and sedition acts. David McCullough in his marvelous new history of John Adams, wrote that President Adams' signatures on the those bills were "the most reprehensible acts of his presidency." During the Civil War, President Lincoln abolished the writ of habeas corpus. In World War I, Minnesota established the shameful public safety commission, which held public hearings all over the state to test the loyalty of German-American Minnesotans and remove the doubtful from office. At the beginning of World War II, Federal officials arrested thousands of Japanese-Americans and herded them into "relocation" camps without any credible evidence of disloyalty. During the worst of the Cold War, Joe McCarthy panicked our Nation and during the turbulent days of the civil rights struggle, F.B.I. Directors, Hoover, decided that Martin Luther King was a dangerous man who needed to be hounded daily and destroyed as a public leader—even though King's message of non-violence may have saved our Nation.

In all of these cases, after we had regained our confidence, we could see that we had allowed our fear to get the better of us, and that we had hurt innocent people, compromised our ideals and shamed ourselves.

Today we again have much to fear.

These are tough times and they require decisive action. We must find and punish our attackers, and make clear that aggression against our country will not be tolerated. We must also try to prevent future terrorism, by learning much more about the threats around and among us. We must give our intelligence and law enforcement agencies the resources and authority they need to do these difficult jobs.

But we can be vigilant and deceive without giving in to fear. We can do everything we need to do to protect ourselves within our constitution, and we will be stronger if we do so. For history has taught us over and over again that the rule of law, openness and tolerance will prevail over injustice, oppression and hate.

It is our great advantage.

Thank you.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

HONORING ROBERT STILLER AND GREEN MOUNTAIN COFFEE ROASTERS

● Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I rise today to congratulate Robert Stiller, Founder and Chief of Green Mountain Coffee Roasters, who has been awarded the "Entrepreneur of the Year Award" by Forbes Magazine.

Before establishing success on the national level, Bob owned several retail coffee stores in Vermont and Maine. Unable to afford advertising, he gave away free samples at wine and food festivals and to organizations like the Cub Scouts and Ronald McDonald House. Always in search of new customers, Bob began selling his coffee to high-end restaurants and to gas stations with a goal of serving the same high-quality of coffee at both. That